

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS, TOSEC 14

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 15539 ACTION SECSTATE 25 JUNE 74

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 15539

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS USIA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS ARRANGEMENTS -- EUROPEAN TRIP

FOR THE SECRETARY

REFERENCE: PARIS 15467

1. FRONT PAGE OF TODAY'S LE MONDE (DATED JUNE 26) HAS  
PROMINENTLY FEATURED ARTICLE BY MAURICE DUVERGER ON  
BRUSSELS SUMMIT AND NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TO-  
WARDS THE U.S. ARTICLE IS EXAMPLE OF CRITICISM GISCARD  
AND SAUVAGNARGUES WILL BE SUBJECT TO AS THEY CHANGE THE  
STYLE OF FRENCH DIPLOMACY. DUVERGER IS WELL-KNOWN POL-  
ITICAL SCIENTIST, PROFESSOR AT SCIENCE POLITIQUE, AUTHOR  
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AND COMMENTATOR. HIS LEFT-WING AFFILIATIONS ARE WELL

KNOWN; HE PUBLICLY BACKED MITTERRAND DURING RECENT CAMPAIGN. BUT, THE INNUENDO, BIASED ASSUMPTIONS AND SUSPICION IN HIS ARTICLE FIND ECHOES AMONG PROMINENT GAULLISTS AND IN A FEW OTHER NON-LEFT SEGMENTS OF THE MEDIA. (SAMPLING OF SUCH VIEWS REPORTED SEPTTEL.)

2. WHILE THE EMBASSY FULLY APPRECIATES THAT DEMANDS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SCHEDULE LEAVE LITTLE TIME FOR PUBLIC APPEARANCES, WE BELIEVE NOTHING WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN COUNTERING THE KIND OF ASSUMPTIONS THAT UNDERLAY THE DUVERGER ARTICLE THAN AN APPEARANCE BY THE SECRETARY ON FRENCH NATIONAL TELEVISION. EITHER OF THE FORMULAS FOR AN ORTF INTERVIEW PROPOSED IN REFTEL WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IN OUR VIEW. THEREFORE, WE URGE SECRETARY KISSINGER TO ACCEPT ONE OF THE INVITATIONS AS A MEANS OF EXPLAINING DIRECTLY TO FRENCH TELEVISION VIEWERS AMERICAN GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS IN REGARD TO EUROPE.

3. A ROUGH TRANSLATION OF THE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE DUVERGER ARTICLE FOLLOWS:

QUOTE THE TROJAN STUD FARM: THE EMPEROR OF ATLANTIS IS GOING TO RECEIVE IN BRUSSELS THE HOMAGE OF HIS VASSALS WHO WILL RENEW TO HIM THEIR FEUDAL PLEDGE. REMOTENESS EMBELLISHES THINGS; IT WILL PERHAPS GIVE THE AMERICANS THE ILLUSION OF A GRANDIOSE CEREMONY, GIVING BACK SOME LUSTRE TO A PASSABLY TARNISHED CROWN. THE EUROPEANS WILL BE LESS IMPRESSED BY THE FANFARES OF OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA. IT IS NOT THE TEXT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION THAT WILL STIR UP THEIR ENTHUSIASM. RARELY HAS A DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENT BEEN DULLER, MORE COLORLESS, MORE MEDIOCRE. SAYING THAT 'THE TEXT IS A GOOD ONE' AS MR. SAUVAGNARGUES DOES, IMPLIES THAT IT WAS WANTED TO BE INSIGNIFICANT. UNDER THIS ANGLE, THE SUCCESS IS PERFECT....

FOR THE CONCEPT OF A MORE OR LESS BIPOLAR 'FREE WORLD' WHICH KENNEDY SUMMED UP IN THE FORMULA, 'PARTNER-SHIP', MESSRS. KISSINGER AND NIXON HAVE SUBSTITUTED THAT OF AN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ASSERTED WITH FORCE AND BRUTALITY....'TO EACH HIS OWN SATELLITES, AND THE PEACE WILL BE BETTER KEPT': SUCH IS SOMEHOW THE REASONING

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MADE IN BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

AS U.S. LIBERTY GROWS TO DEMAND FROM THE WEST EUROPEAN NATIONS THAT THEY BEHAVE AS DOCILE PROTECTOR-ATES, THE EUROPEANS INCREASINGLY RESIGN THEMSELVES TO THAT SUBJECTION, WHEN THEY DO NOT ACCEPT IT WITH PLEASURE. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THEY HAVE NEVER SHOWN MUCH WILL FOR INDEPENDENCE. THE THEME OF A UNITED EUROPE HAS HARDLY REFLECTED A FIRM DETERMINATION TO

CREATE A THIRD BIG POWER, AS INDEPENDENT AS THE TWO OTHERS. IT HAS RATHER SERVED TO CONTAIN NATIONAL REBEL-LIONS AGAINST THE DOMINATION OF WASHINGTON AND TO MASK THIS DOMINATION UNDER THE APPEARANCE OF A FREE COMMUNITY. THIS CAMOUFLAGING IS EVEN NO LONGER NECESSARY. SINCE MR. WILSON'S ADVENT, GREAT BRITAIN HAS JUSTIFIED THE WORST APPREHENSIONS OF GEN. DE GAULLE: THE UK IS RATHER AN AGENT OF AMERICAN POLICY THAN A PARTNER OF THE COMMUNITY. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS ACTING MORE DISCREETLY BUT AS EFFECTIVELY. A FEW YEARS AGO, PEOPLE WONDERED WHO WOULD PLAY THE ROLE OF U.S. STALKING HORSE IN EUROPE, ENGLAND OR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT BOTH ARE PLAYING IT AND THAT THEY ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES....THE FAMOUS HORSE IS NOW SURROUNDED WITH MANY OF THE SAME SPECIES AND ONE COULD SPEAK OF A TROJAN STUD-FARM....

IS NOT A MORE DECISIVE STEP BEING MADE TODAY? THE AMBIGUOUSNESS OF GISCARD'S DIPLOMACY IS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. FACING SO STRONG A PRESSURE, TO KEEP SILENT IS TO BECOME RESIGNED. HESITATION, FLABBINESS, FREE-AND-EASINESS, INDIFFERENCE, SILENCE ARE ENOUGH TO PERMIT THE DOMINATION OF WASHINGTON OVER WESTERN EUROPE. THEY EVEN FAVOR IT BY CONCEALING IT, WHICH ATTENUATES POSSIBLE REACTIONS. SUCH IS PERHAPS NOT THE CONSCIOUS WILL OF THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT. NO ONE CAN TELL WHETHER HIS CURRENT BEHAVIOR RESULTS FROM A DELIBERATE STRATEGY OR FROM UNCERTAINTY. BUT THE RESULTS WILL BE IDENTICAL IF THIS BEHAVIOR IS NOT MODIFIED. THE OPPOSITION ITSELF WOULD LEND A HELPING HAND TO THIS INVISIBLE CHANGE OF FRENCH DIPLOMACY IF IT DID NOT OVERCOME ITS CONTRADICTIONS AND OBLIGE MR. GISCARD D'ESTAING TO UNMASK HIMSELF. IT IS URGENT THAT A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE BE OPENED IN PARLIAMENT AND IN THE NATION.

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END QUOTE.

4. YOUR (SECTO 6) JUST RECEIVED. IF AT ALL FEASIBLE, WOULD APPRECIATE RECONSIDERATION BASIS THIS MESSAGE.

STONE UNQTE SISCO

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